

The Public

A Journal of Fundamental Democracy and
A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making

Eighth Year

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, APRIL 15, 1905

Number 367

LOUIS F. POST
EDITOR

Entered at the Chicago, Illinois, Postoffice as
Second Class Matter

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION

Yearly \$2.00
Half Yearly 1.00
Quarterly50
Single Copy05

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CONTENTS

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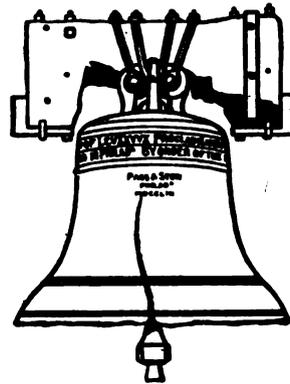
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LOUIS F. POST, Editor

Volume VIII

Number 367

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CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL:

Distinction between public and private property.....	17
Mayor Dunne on socialism.....	17
The Chicago teamsters' strike.....	17
Mayor Harrison's attempt to baffle Mayor Dunne.....	18
The Chicago Council and municipal ownership.....	19
Assistance from Glasgow.....	19
Mayor Dunne's appointment of Clarence S. Darrow as special counsel.....	19
Judge Grosscup and public utilities.....	19
The St. Louis bond question.....	19
Public improvements and private rents.....	20
Rockefeller's "tainted" gift.....	20
Seeking office unbidden.....	20
Making the Democratic party democratic.....	20
The coming of pennies into Chicago.....	20
"I am for men".....	20
The Anti-Imperialist League.....	21
Subtle Influence of Office.....	21
Correspondence—Australasia.....	22

NEWS:

Mayor Dunne, of Chicago.....	22
Municipal ownership in Chicago.....	22
A menacing strike in Chicago.....	23
The Russian-Japanese war—naval movements.....	24
News notes.....	24
Press opinions.....	25

MISCELLANY:

Human Equality (poem).....	25
Standard Oil and the Church—Bigelow.....	25
Norway and Sweden.....	26
The American Clergy and Plutocracy.....	27
Mayor Dunne's Way.....	28
Advisory Referendum as a Party Issue.....	29

BOOKS:

Trent's History of American Literature.....	30
Tremain's Sheridan's Cavalry.....	31
Periodicals.....	31
"Cartoon—"Handwriting on the Wall".....	32

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT:

Advertising.....	31
Supplying bound volumes.....	32

For terms and other particulars of publication see cartoon page.

EDITORIAL

With that nicety of discrimination which characterizes the plutocratic press, the New York Times describes the recent municipal ownership victory in Chicago with an editorial headline declaring that "Socialism Sweeps Chicago." This is an example of the readiness of this class of papers to hurl verbal missiles, as an exasperated striker hurls a brick. With each it is done in the same blind anger, and with the same reactionary effect upon the missile thrower and his associates.

So far from being a socialist,

Mayor Dunne correctly discriminates, as socialists and plutocrats do not, between public and private property. In an interview published in the Inter Ocean of the 9th, he said: "While we believe that public property should be used only by the public and for the public, we are just as earnest in our support of the right of private property." In that declaration you have the essence of Mayor Dunne's political philosophy, and it is directly at variance with both socialism and plutocracy. Socialism would blur the natural distinction between public and private property, by making private property public; plutocracy would blur the same distinction by making public property private. But Mayor Dunne intelligently recognizes the natural distinction by emphasizing the inviolability of private ownership of private property and the equal inviolability of public ownership of public property. This was the principle of property rights that won in the Chicago election.

Mayor Dunne has entered his office auspiciously in every respect but two. For one thing, he encounters a ready-made labor strike of threatening proportions and curious character. The fact that such a strike should occur at such a time, and that the employers indicate a fixed determination to prevent arbitration and to fight to the death even if they thereby provoke rioting—indeed with an apparent purpose to provoke rioting—all this may possibly fall into the category of coincidences. Yet there are reasons enough for suspecting that the strike has been precipitated if not instigated by manipulators of financial interests, in order to attack on the flank the municipal ownership movement which has proved resistless against frontal attack. Certain it is that newspaper organs of these interests are ghoulishly gleeful over the embarrassment they think the strike

will involve the new mayor and his policy in. Equally certain is it that there is no known reason for this strike which has not existed for more than four months. Why it should burst forth in violent form upon the city between the election and the inauguration of Mayor Dunne, and be made a pretext by plutocrats for wildly demanding of him that he put it down forthwith with the strong arm and the bloody hand, needs explanation.

If this is indeed one of the flank attacks of the traction interests, it is not likely to effect its purpose. It may for a brief spell embarrass and delay Mayor Dunne in the execution of his traction policy, but only for a brief spell. For he has announced a policy regarding the strike, which, if faithfully carried out, as it doubtless will be, will make him stronger than ever with all good citizens, irrespective of their sympathies regarding the so-called "conflict between capital and labor." Judge Dunne has announced that he will impartially preserve the public peace, and that he will use his influence to arbitrate the dispute, whatever it may be, over which the strike is waged. He has had no difficulty in bringing the strikers to agree to arbitration; the uncraftery among their leaders have already asked for it. If he encounters any obstacle it will be on the part of the employers' unions, from which hints have already come that "there is nothing to arbitrate." But upon their own contention there really is something to arbitrate. They say that the labor unions have broken a contract with the employers' unions by striking. The labor unions deny this, and assert that the employers' unions provoked the teamsters' strike by breaking a contract with the garment workers' unions. At least, then, the question of the interpretation and breach of those contracts raises questions which upon any possible theory of the relations of employ-

er and employe, are a legitimate subject for arbitration. For the employers stubbornly to refuse to arbitrate those questions, is in effect to declare that what they want is not the preservation of the public peace for the good of the community, but breaches of the public peace for the promotion of an ulterior purpose to the prejudice of the community.

Doubtless there are circumstances in which employers may properly refuse labor arbitrations. When the circumstances affect no one but employer and employe, a refusal of either to arbitrate disputes is nobody else's business. If the dispute is one for legal adjustment, the parties have their legal recourse, and there an end so far as the rest of the community is concerned. In such cases, if breaches of the peace do occur, they are too trifling to embroil the community. Nothing is needed to deal with them but one or two policemen and a justice of the peace. But when, as in this case, the dispute is between large bodies of men of hostile interests—a large body of employers against a large body of employes, each organized to coerce the other—a different state of affairs is presented. The controversy is then of a kind which in its very nature is likely to generate gigantic breaches of the public peace; and not by men of law-breaking propensities inclined to create disorder, but by men of normally peaceable disposition who are exasperated by oppressive economic conditions personified and intensified by employers' unions. Breaches of the peace so generated are of such magnitude as to necessitate the diversion of the police force from its regular duties and possibly the use of troops and the destruction of human life. When those are the circumstances, the organization, whether of employers or employes, which stubbornly refuses to arbitrate the underlying cause of the disturbance, thereby makes itself a public enemy.

If the law happens to be too imperfect to reach organizations which thus cynically provoke rioting, so much the more reason for bringing the force of public opinion to bear against this kind of promotion of public disorder. Whatever the existing law may happen to be, there can be no rational dispute as to the duty of public opinion, that force which really makes and executes municipal law and without the support of which all municipal law is palsied. The duty of public opinion—or, more accurately, of those who make public opinion—is clear. Whenever the public peace is endangered on a great scale, by conflicts between great labor organizations and great employers' organizations, the public as well as the parties is concerned, and there is something to arbitrate whether the private interests involved need arbitration or not. Such is the situation in Chicago. Let public opinion not be misled by any pretense of either side that there is nothing to arbitrate. The public peace is in grave danger. Insistence upon bloodless arbitration is as appropriate for preserving it as are policemen's clubs and leaden bullets. Everyone should see the barbarity and wickedness of demanding sanguinary force when anything less savage will do.

The second inauspicious circumstance attending upon Mayor Dunne's assumption of his office, was the amazing conduct of his predecessor on the eve of his retirement. Nothing could be more distinctly self evident than that Mayor Dunne ought to have been left untrammelled by any recent acts of his predecessor with reference to the traction policy of the future. Mayor Harrison's policy was the opposite of Judge Dunne's, and the people, in approving Dunne's condemned Harrison's. But, without waiting for the formal verdict of the people, and in the heat of the campaign, when Dunne's election was practically assured, Mayor Harrison secured from the Council authority

to invite proposals for the establishment of a municipal street railway (vol. vii, p. 764), an authority which now proves to have been something very like an obstacle thrown across Mayor Dunne's path. There was no necessity for this action on the eve of the coming in of a new administration. That it may have been not only without excuse but with malice is indicated by other things. It may, indeed, turn out that the mysteriously precipitate proceeding on the 20th (vol. vii, p. 808) at the instigation of Mayor Harrison, had some shady connection with the rest. Possibly this also was designed to aid in baffling the municipal ownership policy which Dunne has been elected to carry out, though of that there is as yet no certainty. But Harrison's final act bears the unmistakable stamp of maladministration. At a special meeting of the Council, two days after the election and four days before the inauguration, Mayor Harrison induced the dying Council to pass, without investigation, an order authorizing a contract with Bion J. Arnold (an engineer heretofore employed by the franchise advocates of the Council), for Arnold's employment to plan and construct a municipal street car system. The compensation fixed for this employment was excessive, and the employment places Arnold in the position of Dunne's irremovable expert. There was neither necessity nor excuse for such action at that time. It must have been done with the malicious purpose of baffling Dunne by saddling upon him a hostile expert. Yet that contract was executed on the 10th of April, a few hours before Mayor Dunne's inauguration, and Mayor Dunne knew nothing whatever of the matter until it had been consummated. We are willing to take the word of Mr. Arnold's friends for his good faith in this piece of work, conceived and executed though it was in such manifest bad faith; but we know of no way in which he can really prove his good faith, short of an offer to Mayor Dunne

to cancel his contract upon being paid for work he may actually have performed. No such offer has yet been reported.

Although the traction interests supposed that Mayor Dunne would be embarrassed by a hostile Council, or one only narrowly sympathetic with his traction policy, the event has proved otherwise. Under the excellent method of non-partisan organization of that body, for which the Municipal Voters' League is entitled to the credit, a non-partisan transportation committee has been organized in accordance with the wishes of the Mayor and of a non-partisan majority of nine or ten of the Council. Notwithstanding the fact that the majority of the Council is Republican, this committee has been given to the Democrats by seven to six, and of the six Republicans at least one is thoroughly committed to the Dunne traction policy as are all the Democrats. While Foreman and Bennett, the franchise extension leaders in the Council, are retained on the committee, its complexion regarding the traction policy is reversed, and Alderman Werno, a thorough-going supporter of the Dunne policy, is chairman.

Judge Dunne's first important act with reference to his traction policy was to request the mayor of Glasgow to send the traction manager of Glasgow to Chicago for a conference. This request has been granted. Some criticism of the move was indulged in, but it does not appear to us to be well founded. Street car experts who are familiar with the management of traction systems for the public good instead of the good of stockholders and speculators, are not overplentiful in this country. Such as we have are denounced as cranks by the stock-jobbing combines. Mayor Dunne could have taken no wiser step, it seems to us, than to secure the personal advice and the presence in Chicago for a few days of the manager of the oldest

and most noted municipal traction system in the world. His second important act with reference to the same matter was his appointment of Clarence S. Darrow as special corporation counsel in complete charge of the traction subject. Mr. Darrow's acceptance of this position, and his statement of his intention to devote his whole time and energy to the work, are an assurance of vigorous procedure. Both the appointment and the acceptance merit the unqualified approval of every believer in immediate municipal ownership and are beyond all other reasonable criticism. It would have been impossible to select from the bar of Chicago any man better qualified for this particular function. Mr. Darrow believes in municipal ownership, he understands the subject both in its economic and its legal aspects, and his special abilities as a lawyer are peculiarly appropriate for the service to which this appointment calls him.

Judge Grosscup was reported on the 8th as having said in Pittsburg that he is not in favor of municipal ownership of railways. Said he:

I am not in favor of municipal ownership of railways, from an economic standpoint. I am not in favor of it in any city. These enterprises can flourish better, giving better and more efficient service to the public, if conducted by private concerns as they are to-day. Municipal ownership is a species of socialism that leads to the extinction of the individual.

With all possible respect for the court over which Judge Grosscup happens to preside, we venture the suggestion that this opinion of his will be heavily discounted until he denies or explains some of the curious conduct regarding traction affairs with which he is charged by Collier's Weekly, of April 1, under the signature of A. M. Ashton, of the Chicago bar, and of which the following is a specimen:

Judge Grosscup has appointed Marshall E. Sampsell, the clerk of his own court, as one of the receivers in the traction suit at a remuneration of \$25,000 a year; . . . The judge and Mr. Sampsell live in the same house at Highland

Park, and are interested together in a street railroad enterprise at Mattoon, Illinois.

The people of St. Louis are to be congratulated upon having defeated the proposed bond issue of \$9,000,000 at the recent election. All such schemes, however good the purpose, should be frowned upon until the special interests to be financially benefited consent to bear the financial burden of the bonds. What those interests are, how they benefit by bond issues for public improvements, and why they promote the policy of bonding, may be inferred from the following argument in favor of the defeated St. Louis bond issue published while the question was pending:

In the proposed improvement of King's Highway, by which it is to be made into a boulevard and park system, and for which a part of the funds realized from the bond sale is to be used, the city will be compensated by the increased value of the adjacent property, probably amounting to more than the entire bond issue and resulting in increased revenue to the city by a corresponding increase in taxation returns. This is "conservatively" placed at \$300,000 per annum, which is only three and one-third per cent. interest on the amount of the bonds, making no provision for the return of the principal, but which the private holders of real estate secure in added values to their holdings, and for which they pay a small interest to the city in the form of increased taxes, which are always several notches behind the increase in values, somewhat similar to the slow rise in wages after an increase in the cost of living.

Why should a whole city be taxed to pay interest on bonds for 30 years to enrich land owners in a certain locality? Public improvements should promote the welfare of all and not merely of a privileged few. But under prevailing methods of taxation those who are taxed for constructing improvements are taxed again for enjoying them, while another class make increased profits from those improvements over and above all the additional taxes they are required to pay. The experience of the people of Chicago and St. Louis with reference to the great fairs ought to teach a universal lesson. In St. Louis (and it was similar in Chicago)

the people were squeezed for the benefit of landlords. For two years before the St. Louis fair, rents rose; and all during the fair they were held at an enormous figure. Even now they are falling very slowly if at all. It is estimated that the working people of St. Louis have paid to local landlords over \$5,000,000 in increased rentals since preparations for the fair began. If Congressman Robert Baker's speech on the single tax, published in the Congressional Record of March 20, were widely read, the custom of enriching landowners by squeezing tenants, through public improvements for which tenants are doubly taxed—first by the public for the improvement, and second by the landlord for living where the improvement is—would soon die completely out. Both the interest and the principal of bonds should be paid by an ad valorem tax upon the land which those improvements increase in value.

In connection with the discussion of Rockefeller's proposed gift of "tainted money to the heathen," the Rev. Charles L. Noyes, of Massachusetts, makes a full reply to the friends and lawyers of Mr. Rockefeller who have rushed to that gentleman's defense. "We do not want statements from Mr. Rockefeller's friends and attorneys," writes Mr. Noyes; "but if Mr. Rockefeller personally can clear himself in the eyes of the American people, we will be glad to believe in him." But Mr. Rockefeller is not likely to accept that perfectly fair challenge. There is an advantage in having your friends and lawyers testify for you to your methods of making money; they can't be cross-examined. Mr. Rockefeller appreciates this advantage. He would be subject to cross-examination if he testified in his own behalf, and he has no notion of throwing that door open.

A correspondent, Mr. L. P. Custer, criticises our approval of Jenkin Lloyd Jones's suggestion

in an after-election sermon (p. 2) that he who "seeks an office unbidden" will be despicable in the future destiny of the Republic. Mr. Custer, quoting approvingly from Henry George, holds it to be "an honorable ambition to seek public office if the motives are righteous." He goes even farther by saying:

I deem it reprehensible and unjustifiable to hold back from seeking public honors if in one's opinion he can be of greater service to his fellow-men in such capacity. The great trouble confronting the reformers in the land lies principally in the abandonment of the office-holding field, by those who stand for righteous principles, to the scall-wags and grafters, who seek office for "what there is in it" for themselves, personally, or, in other words, for private enrichment first, and the public service as an incident thereto. I would reverse this programme, and make it a slogan and enlist as many under the banner thus erected as possible—men seeking to fill the public offices to be of benefit to the people as their primary incentives.

The point is not whether men should refrain from seeking office, in the strictly literal sense of "seeking," but whether they should seek office "unbidden." We doubt if anyone who seeks office unbidden does seek it for the public good. The man whose motives for wanting office are righteous and whose capability is adequate, will not be unbidden when the people need the particular public service he is capable and desirous of rendering. The man who seeks office for "what there is in it," and the man who seeks office "unbidden," usually belong to the same political species. Benefiting the people is not likely to be the primary incentive with either.

Bryan's call to the Democrats of the country to make the Democratic party democratic by faithful attendance at the primaries appears to be meeting with a hearty and general response. This is the true line of reorganization. If the suggestion is acted upon, the next national convention will be composed of men whose politics are upon a higher plane than the politics of those who controlled the convention of

last year. The mere desire to win, so frankly expressed by Senator Daniel, will be laid aside, and the desire to be worthy of winning will take its place. Mr. Bryan has happily phrased the new impulse of which he is urging the Democratic party to take advantage. "Back to the people," does best describe, as he says, "the tendency which is manifesting itself in the nation and in most of the States." Away from centralized power, away from imperialism, away from militarism, away from special privilege, away from paternalism, and—"back to the people!"

In one of his interesting "stories of the street and the town," in the Chicago Record-Herald, Henry Barrett Chamberlain tells of the introduction of pennies into Chicago. He credits Victor F. Lawson with having in 1877, to secure circulation for his new penny daily, the News, brought \$1,000 worth of pennies from the East and distributed them so as to enable newsboys to make change and get them into circulation. Doubtless Mr. Lawson did this, as Mr. Chamberlain says; but his plan was not the novel one it is described to be. Probably the first instance, which occurred prior to 1877, was in connection with the San Francisco Post. The publisher of that paper, finding difficulty in selling a penny paper in a city where half a dime was the smallest coin in circulation, imported \$1,000 worth of pennies and put them into circulation in San Francisco precisely as Mr. Chamberlain describes Mr. Lawson as having subsequently done in Chicago.

Secretary Shaw, in a speech before the Methodist conference at Washington last week, discussed class distinctions. In the course of his speech he is reported to have said:

I hesitate to take my church motto from a cigar sign, but I know of none so appropriate as that by Henry George: "I am for men."

If Mr. Shaw had been more familiar with Henry George in his

speeches than with his portrait on the placards of a cigar manufacturer, he need not have apologized for taking his motto from a cigar sign. The quoted words were uttered by Henry George in his last speech, only a few hours before he died: Introduced to his audience as a friend of labor, George declared that his position was not that of a friend of the laboring class or of any other class. And then he added the quoted words: "I am for men."

The policy of the Anti-Imperialist League has come to be misunderstood recently in consequence of announcements of other American bodies organized to settle the Philippine question. It is no part of the policy of the League, to bind itself or to give any countenance to the policy of the Administration in the Philippine Islands, so long as the Administration contemplates and aims at securing an "indefinite retention of the Islands,"—according to the official programme given out by the Secretary of War. In this attitude the Anti-Imperialist League is differentiated from every organization which has in view the amelioration of existing conditions, while trustfully confiding in the "hope" expressed by President Roosevelt in his last message to Congress that the Philippine Islands may be in the future "in some such relation to the United States as Cuba now stands." As such organizations must thus become identified with, and apparent supporters of, the Administration's actual policy, which is calculated really to destroy the hope of any such relation, the Anti-Imperialist League still claims to preempt, as heretofore, the position which enables it to give voice to the growing sentiment in favor of Philippine independence.

A charitable young lady, visiting a sick woman, inquired, with a view to further relief, as to her family. She asked: "Is your husband kind to you?" "Oh, yes, miss," was the instant response. "he's kind—very kind. Indeed, you might say he's more like a friend than a husband."—Brooklyn Life.

SUBTLE INFLUENCE OF OFFICE.

A few years ago I met Mr. Urquhart, the present mayor of Toronto. It was just after he had first been elected to that office. We had a long talk and he expressed himself as a believer in direct legislation.

The Toronto papers had told of the activity of the Direct Legislation League there, in getting signatures from the candidates for Council and Mayor to pledges to abide by the will of the majority, and to submit all matters they could, which were properly petitioned for, even if the people could not enact but only advise. The Toronto papers had said that Mr. Urquhart had signed one of these pledges. My Toronto friends had told me of it and rejoiced in Mr. Urquhart's election. Many of them had worked ardently for it. He never denied making such a pledge and in our talk it was assumed. A Toronto gentleman says he has such a written pledge in his possession. The evidence as to the state of Mr. Urquhart's mind and as to his making such a pledge is, in my opinion, conclusive.

Mr. Urquhart has been in office for several years, and has made, I have every reason to believe, an honest and efficient mayor.

Recently a group of reformers secured the submission to the people of the question of the exemption from taxation of \$700 of all improvements on land. The Mayor opposed this, as he had a right to do in common with all other citizens of Toronto; but it was carried by a majority of more than two to one. Subsequently a group of gentlemen called on the Mayor and the following is the conversation as reported in the Toronto Globe of February 7, 1905:

Mr. W. A. Douglass—We have called upon you, Mr. Mayor, to enlist your services in the support of the \$700 exemption.

The Mayor—I may as well tell you at once I am utterly opposed to it, and will do all in my power to prevent it becoming law.

Mr. A. C. Thompson—Are you, the mayor of Toronto, going to carry out the wishes of the 16,000 voters who voted for this exemption?

The Mayor—When I took the oath of office I swore to guard the interests of the city, not to accept the views of majorities, however large. And I do not

believe this is in the best interests of the city.

Mr. Thompson—Are we to understand that you are using your position as mayor to oppose the will of the people as expressed by a larger vote than you yourself received, because Mr. Thomas Urquhart is personally opposed to it?

The Mayor—The people did not understand the question. I was opposed to the by-law before the election, and the people knew it, and I take it the vote for me is an indorsement of my views on the matter.

Mr. Farmer—Before the election you stated to me that if the matter went to the ratepayers and they carried it you would do what you could to have it sent to the legislature.

Mr. Thompson—Will you give the measure your support provided it shall not become law unless a majority of the ratepayers approve?

The Mayor—No. I will not support it in any form.

Mr. Thompson—Before your election as mayor you signed a pledge that upon the presentation to the Council of a petition of 3,000 voters you would submit any question to the people asked for by them. You also signed a pledge that if a majority of the people voted in favor of the measure you would use your best efforts to make it law. Are we to understand that the ante-election pledges of Mr. Thomas Urquhart are not considered by you binding on him after election day?

The Mayor—Have you the pledge here?

Mr. Farmer—No, but I have it at the office.

The Mayor—I never signed any such pledge; but if I did I would break it, as I would any pledge, if after further consideration I decided it was not in the best interests of the city.

The question here is not as to the merits or demerits of the \$700 exemption; it is as to the change of mind in Mayor Urquhart.

I have no doubt that Mayor Urquhart is as pleasant and courteous a gentleman to meet socially as ever, that personally he is as honest and incorruptible as ever, and that in municipal business he is more efficient than ever because of added experience. But he thinks he knows how to govern the people better than they know what is best for them, and he deliberately says he will break his written pledge and oppose the will of the majority of the voters of Toronto.

The question is not confused by dishonesty or inefficiency, because Mr. Urquhart is concededly both honest and efficient. But it is clear-cut and strongly made. Mr.

Urquhart has ceased to be a servant of the people and aspires to be a ruler over them.

His point of view has changed from that of a democrat to that of an autocrat. The grand dukes around the Czar of all the Russias say the people do not know what is good for them and that they do know. Mr. Urquhart says the same. His spirit is that of the bureaucrat or official class. They know how to rule, and the people are a beast to be governed.

In the United States or Canada, where there are frequent elections, Mr. Urquhart is an anachronism, a belated survival of a past political epoch. If he does not change back, the people, when they get to know him, will relegate him to private life and he will be discontented and think they are ungrateful.

But that is not important. The vital question is, What caused the change? One word answers that question: Irresponsible office-holding. The largely irresponsible power of any important executive position, and the subtle flattery that surrounds it, slowly changes even the best of men, until they get what Whitman calls "the insolence of elected persons."

What is the remedy? Frequent returns to the people for re-election, and the recall, are good. But there will be no permanent remedy till the people have in their own hands, all the time, the supreme power, the power to initiate and to enact laws; and this can only be secured through direct legislation—the Initiative and Referendum.

ELTWEED POMEROY.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

AUSTRALASIA.

Corowa, N. S. W., Australia, March 1.—The prosecutions in connection with the Newcastle (N. S. W.) strike, mentioned in my last letter (p. 790), have come to nothing. In the first four trials the men were acquitted, so the rest of the cases were withdrawn.

In a case arising out of another dispute, the Supreme Court decided that, in the absence of an agreement between employers and employes, the arbitration court could not make an order against strikers as a body. Proceedings must be taken against individuals. If a large number of men were on strike

this would of course be practically impossible.

It has also been ruled that the arbitration court had exceeded its powers in making "interim injunctions" to compel employes to continue at work pending the settlement of a dispute. This power was relied upon to prevent strikes.

Altogether it may be fairly said that the New South Wales arbitration act has broken down; but of course the Ministry, like Gilbert's Mikado, promises to "have it altered"—next session.

As soon as I saw it in print, I noticed that the first paragraph of my letter of January 21 (p. 661) was wrong. I should have said the decision was that the salaries of Federal civil servants and members of the Federal parliament are exempt from State income tax. Mr. Reid, the prime minister, has promised that if the decision be upheld on appeal to the English Privy Council, he will, if still in power, submit an amendment of the constitution on the subject to the people at the next Federal election. This looks rather like cracking a nut with a steam hammer.

Max Hirsch, author of "Democracy versus Socialism," and next to Mr. Reid our most prominent as well as ablest free trader, was very ill some months ago, through overwork. It was feared his health had permanently broken down. But he has gradually improved, and is now almost as well as ever. A very able, well-educated man, Mr. Hirsch might have made a good living for himself in business; but he has devoted his life to reform work, principally as a single taxer. As Mr. G. H. Reid once publicly stated, "Mr. Hirsch has been content to live on \$500 a year when he might have had \$5,000."

He has probably been the best abused man in Australia, for almost everyone opposes a single taxer on some point.

The most discouraging thing in Australian politics is the fact that while the power is in the hands of the people, actually and not merely nominally as in many countries—yet the leaders are on the wrong track. It is better to stand still than to follow them.

ERNEST BRAY.

"Oh, I couldn't possibly talk half-an-hour on that subject!"

"Nonsense! Why, you can fill 20 minutes explaining the difficulty of treating so important a subject in so short a time."—Puck.

NEWS NARRATIVE

Week ending Thursday, April 13.

Mayor Dunne of Chicago.

The official count of the vote of the recent municipal election in Chicago (p. 6) was published on the 9th. It is as follows:

Dunne (Dem)	163,189
Harlan (Rep.)	138,671
Collins (Soc.)	23,034
Stewart (Pro.)	3,297

Total vote	328,191
Dunne's plurality	24,518

Pending the official count the mayor-elect made a hurried trip to New York (p. 7), where he addressed an audience that packed Cooper Union. The meeting was called to order by William Randolph Hearst, as chairman of the executive committee of the Municipal Ownership League of New York. J. G. Phelps Stokes presided. Among the speakers was Thomas E. Watson. After speaking to the audience within the hall, Judge Dunne addressed a large overflow meeting on the broad street adjoining.

Returning from the East on the 9th Judge Dunne was installed as Mayor on the 10th. The installation ceremonies were simple, and there was no inaugural address beyond a brief speech of courtesy, prefaced with this explanation:

On an occasion like this it is usual and customary to deliver what may be called an inaugural address. On this occasion I forbear to deliver any such address, in view of the fact that my inaugural has been framed and delivered to you by the people in the issues presented to you in the last campaign and crystallized in the platform upon which I ran. This is the policy I have been elected to carry out, and in the administration of my office I shall use all the energy and all the ability with which my maker has endowed me. I shall endeavor to use my utmost energies to carry out to a conclusion the programme which the people have set forth.

Municipal Ownership in Chicago.

The official count on the traction referendum questions (p. 8) showed the following result:

Shall the tentative ordinance of 1904 be passed.....	No...150,785
	Yes... 64,391

Negative majority.....	86,394
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Shall any franchise to the Chicago City Railway be

granted?	No...151,574
	Yes.. 60,020
Negative majority.....	91,964
Shall any franchise to any street railway company be granted?.....	No...152,135
	Yes.. 59,013
Negative majority.....	93,122

In recognition of the vote for immediate municipal ownership the transportation committee of the new City Council was reorganized with a clear majority for immediate municipal ownership. It consists of 7 Democrats, all pledged to the policy of immediate municipal ownership, and 6 Republicans, at least 1 of whom (McCormick) is committed to that policy. The chairman is Alderman Werno, a Democratic advocate of immediate municipal ownership; and Alderman Dever, a Democrat strongly committed to that policy, has been added as a member. Among the members opposed to immediate municipal ownership and advocates of a grant to corporations are Aldermen Foreman and Bennett, Republicans. Following are the names of the committee: Werno, chairman; Dever, Finn, Carey, Zimmer, Maypole, Raymer, Bradley, Foreman, Bennett, McCormick, Hunter, Young.

In response to his request of the Mayor of Glasgow for advice from the traction manager of that city (p. 9), Judge Dunne has received the following cablegram:

Lord Mayor of Chicago: The corporation of Glasgow unanimously and cordially agreed to the request of your municipality. Tramways manager unable to leave before May 10. Letter follows. John Ure Primrose, lord provost.

James Dalrymple, mentioned in this message as the Glasgow "tramways manager," upon being interviewed on the 7th by the Glasgow correspondent of the Chicago Daily News said:

We have found municipal ownership of our tramways so successful that we feel it our duty to give the benefit of our experience to our sister city, Chicago. I go in response to this sense of duty. At one time there was a party in Glasgow that fought the idea of corporation tramways and predicted failure for any venture in this direction. That party no longer exists. It could not survive demonstrated facts. We manage our lines without a hitch and make them distinctly profitable to the community. The development of the service has brought us

into contact with many specific problems. It is the knowledge we have gained as the result of this contact I purpose to the best of my ability to communicate to Chicago. All details I must withhold until I reach that city.

Some embarrassment to Mayor Dunne's promotion of his traction policy is anticipated from the singular conduct of the retiring mayor, Mr. Harrison, and the old Council on the eve of dissolution. On the face of it this action seems to force upon Mayor Dunne a traction expert, at extravagant compensation, regardless of the new Mayor's wishes. At a special meeting of the Council on the 6th, without conferring with the Mayor-elect, Mayor Harrison proposed and the Council agreed to an order authorizing a contract with Bion J. Arnold for the construction of a municipal street railway system. Without reference to committee, the order was adopted forthwith; and on the 10th, a few hours before the retirement of Mayor Harrison and the dissolution of the old Council, and without informing the Mayor-elect, the Corporation Counsel caused a contract with Mr. Arnold to be executed in accordance with the order described above. To what extent this procedure may thwart or embarrass Mayor Dunne is not yet known.

No time will be lost, however, in determining the legal situation in this and in all other respects with reference to the traction question; for on the 12th Mayor Dunne employed Clarence S. Darrow as special corporation counsel to have absolute charge of all traction litigation of whatsoever nature that may arise. Mr. Darrow has consented to devote his entire time to this service.

A Menacing Strike in Chicago.

With mysterious suddenness Chicago has been plunged into what promises to be a gigantic strike. It began on the 6th, two days after Mayor Dunne's election and four days before his inauguration. Its suddenness, together with its apparent lack of any immediate cause, has raised doubts of its entire good faith. Nominally, it springs out of a strike of garment makers' organizations, which has been in progress in Chicago about five months.

The garment makers' organizations are a result of a long fight against the "sweat-shop" system. This fight, after many vicissitudes, culminated in the establishment of garment makers' unions. A former strike of these unions in Chicago was settled through arbitration by the execution on the part of the garment makers' unions and the employers' union in that trade, of a "closed shop" contract; that is, of a contract which forbade the employment of nonunion labor. Last July the national union of employers in the trade adopted resolutions against the closed shop, and soon afterward notices were posted in the shops of Chicago and elsewhere declaring for the "open shop"—employment of union and non-union labor indiscriminately. Coincidentally with this declaration of the "open shop" policy, non-union labor was employed in Chicago shops, and union labor disemployed, regardless of the "closed shop" contract between the employers' and the employees' unions. When the latter went upon strike to enforce observance of their contract, the employers' union denounced the contract as having been procured by duress—the duress consisting in the strike which had, through arbitration, been settled by the "closed-shop" contract,—and enforced a lockout. This occurred in November, 1904. The striking garment workers solicited the aid of the teamsters' union, by sympathetic strike, at a critical period of their own strike, but without avail. For several weeks their strike has been virtually lost, although it is still nominally maintained. The present strike, begun on the 6th, as stated above, by the teamsters' unions of Chicago, is in aid of the moribund strike of the garment workers, and is directed at Montgomery Ward & Co., because they have employed non-union garment workers in violation of the "closed shop" contract. The teamsters' union orders are as follows: "No union teamster shall pick up or deliver any goods consigned to Montgomery Ward & Co."

Although this strike is directed only at Montgomery Ward & Co., it came immediately under the jurisdiction, as to the employers' side of it, of the Chicago Employ-

ers' Association, and at the present time the conflict is between this employers' union, on one side, and the teamsters' union on the other. The latter announce that if the National Wholesale Tailors' Association will agree to arbitrate with the Garment Workers' Union, the strike against Montgomery Ward & Co. will be called off. To this the employers reply that the garment workers' strike is "a closed incident," and therefore there is nothing to arbitrate. This seems to constitute the deadlock. Although overtures for arbitration came on the 11th from prominent employers constituting a committee of the Commercial Exchange, they did not touch the issue. They merely proposed arbitration on the right of the teamsters to enter upon a sympathetic strike while contracts between their organization and the employers' organization exist; whereas the teamsters insist upon including in the arbitration the previous breach by the garment employers of their contract with the garment workers.

Meanwhile there have been some breaches of the peace, though but little violence, and policemen report this as coming not from the strikers but from street mobs with which the strikers have no connection.

When the strike began, Judge Dunne was in New York. In response to a request from the Chicago Tribune he telegraphed on the 7th:

I will preserve the peace from the inception of any strike, but will exhaust every effort to bring about arbitration between employer and employe while I am mayor of Chicago.

On the 10th the same reply was made by Judge Dunne to a committee of strike leaders who waited upon him. Asked by them if they could expect a "square deal," he replied:

I will not be Mayor of Chicago until next Tuesday. When I become the city's chief executive the question of preserving the peace and protecting life and property will be of paramount importance with me. For that reason I will confer with the chief of police at my earliest opportunity and consider plans for carrying out that programme. I shall also undertake as soon as possible to learn both sides of the case in order

that I may do what I can to secure a settlement of the strike. I have been arbitrating disputes for thirteen years on the bench, and I will lend what assistance I can in this case.

In reporting this interview, President Dold, of the Chicago Federation of Labor, said:

All we asked for was a "square deal," and we have been promised it by Mayor-elect Dunne. We did not ask for any favors or special privileges, and I am convinced that this controversy can be honorably settled without partiality being shown to either side.

On the 11th, after his installation, Mayor Dunne was waited upon by a labor committee which complained of police partiality. The Mayor reiterated his determination that peace shall be preserved, life and property protected, and all be treated exactly alike; and, advising the committee to furnish him with written charges to be laid before the police trial board, he called before him the chief of police. He told that official that charges of discrimination had been made and instructed him that—

every company and every firm has the right to the streets and to use them for teaming, and that he must see to it that every firm is protected—Montgomery Ward & Co. and every other firm—and that no preference be given to anyone.

In consequence, police orders were issued requiring—

greater care by the police in the handling of strike mobs and that no partiality be shown to anyone; that all be treated alike—the union and non-union teamsters—but that the former be not permitted to block the teams of the latter and attempt to prevent the delivery of non-union goods.

While insisting upon the maintenance of the public peace, Mayor Dunne explained to the strikers' committee that he is a firm believer in arbitration and would—

be pleased to act in this matter if so requested. If not, he would be pleased to aid in selecting an umpire who will be fair to both sides. "If I am selected," he explained, "I shall reserve the privilege of naming or recommending a man to handle the details of the work so that I will not be hampered in my official duties here."

The Russian-Japanese War.

Although no important news of the land operations in the Russian-Japanese war (vol. vii, p. 823) is at hand, Rojestvensky's Russian fleet, which left Nossi Be island, off Madagascar, on the

16th of March (vol. vii, p. 804), was reported on the 8th from Singapore as steaming slowly through the Straits of Malacca into the China Sea. Togo's Japanese fleet had been sighted the day before south of Mindanao, the southernmost island of the Philippines. Both reports have since been denied, and at the present time neither fleet has been located. Reports of a naval battle are not confirmed.

NEWS NOTES

—President Roosevelt went into camp for a hunting vacation (p. 9) on the 8th in Oklahoma.

—Commissioner Garfield has begun the Federal investigation (vol. vii, p. 742) of the Standard Oil company's business in Kansas.

—The largest playhouse in the world, the Hippodrome, was opened in New York city on the 12th. Its seating capacity is 5,300.

—The name of the Chicago orchestra was changed on the 11th to the Theodore Thomas orchestra in honor of its dead leader. Frederick A. Stock is the leader now.

—Earthquake shocks in India are reported to have killed thousands of people, wrecking and depopulating whole towns. The disaster is said to be one of the greatest of modern times.

—Wm. E. Childs, a Negro policeman of Chicago since 1896, has been promoted to the grade of desk sergeant, which is said to make him the only commanding officer of his race on any police force in the United States.

—A resolution was introduced in the Cleveland Council on the 10th omitting the name of Mayor Johnson from the list of officials entitled to the floor. Its animus is supposed to relate to the Mayor's accusations of public-utility-corporation corruption (p. 9).

—The "Pekin," the only Negro theater in the world, is located in the heart of the South Side Negro district of Chicago. The manager is a Negro, the players are Negroes, and for a time after the opening last Summer the patrons were exclusively Negroes, though the patronage is now both white and black.

—On the 10th the Supreme Court of the United States decided that the portion of the Alaska code which allows a jury of only six men is unconstitutional. The decision is based on the conclusion that Alaska is part of the territory of the United States in the full sense.

—Monroe, La., is reported as having begun the construction of a municipal street car system to be operated by the municipality in connection with a muni-

cipal electric lighting and waterworks system. A bond issue for the purpose has been authorized, and local sentiment in favor of the enterprise is virtually unanimous.

—The executive committee of the Filipino Progress Association has requested President Roosevelt to urge the Philippine Commission to carry out the recommendations of the opium committee of the Commission, without variation or modification, by establishing forthwith a system of government monopoly of the opium trade, with absolute prohibition as soon as practicable. The "opium committee" had recommended government monopoly, and opposed high tariff and high license as tending to increase the use of opium, and the Philippine Commission has suggested instead of government monopoly "a system of very high license."

—The monthly treasury report of receipts and expenditures of the Federal government (see vol. vii, p. 794) for March, 1905, shows the following for the first nine months of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905:

Receipts:	
Tariff	\$199,795,540.56
Internal revenue.....	175,400,554.55
Miscellaneous	36,739,872.19
	\$411,935,967.30
Expenses:	
Civil and Misc.....	\$111,189,194.85
War	98,381,715.68
Navy	89,538,390.62
Indians	11,237,263.07
Pensions	107,955,599.33
Interest	18,116,642.39
	\$436,414,105.94
Deficit	\$ 24,478,138.64
—The monthly statement of the United States treasury department (see vol. vii, p. 794) for March 31, 1905:	
Gold reserve fund.....	\$150,000,000.00
Available cash.....	141,821,623.37
Total	\$291,821,623.37
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1904.....	319,027,403.05
Decrease	\$ 27,205,779.48

PRESS OPINIONS

CHICAGO'S EXAMPLE.

(Columbus (O.) Press-Post (Dem.), Apr. 6.—Politicians are notorious for wanting to win elections. Chicago furnishes the formula. People will change their votes more quickly on issues than on men.

Dubuque Telegraph (Dem.), Apr. 6.—And Chicago's answer to the question, "Shall the people own what the people create" was emphatically in the affirmative. Chicago has proven its right to distinction as the heart of progressive democracy in the United States.

Passaic (N. J.) Daily News (Rep.), Apr. 10.—All eyes are on Chicago, and on the final outcome of Mayor-elect Edward F. Dunne's battle will depend in large measure the entire cause of municipal ownership in the cities of our country, great and small, and State and national ownership as well.

Chicago Examiner (Dem.), Apr. 5.—Chicago, as always, is a leader. With Mayor Dunne's installation this city of destiny opens a new chapter in American municipal government. Hereafter it will be the exception, not the rule, for an American city to squander its resources by giving away enormously valuable franchises. Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Dem), Apr.

5.—The victory of Judge Dunne in Chicago yesterday is the most inspiring event in American politics in the last ten years. It marks the culmination of a war that was begun in that city in an obscure and unpretentious way in 1887, and it is the first great triumph of the people over special privilege.

Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), Apr. 5.—The people of Chicago—and the same is true of the people of other American cities—are sick and tired of private ownership of public utilities. Whenever and wherever opportunity offers to municipalize public utilities the great majority of the votes favor it. The Chicago election has been of national interest.

Goodhue County (Minn.) News (Dem.), Apr. 8.—The most important affair in politics since the Civil War reached its second stage when Chicago elected Judge Dunne mayor Tuesday. . . . They have found the man and the party to do their will. That is the second stage. And that same will be no holiday undertaking. Dunne is no fool, understand that. He knows he has his work cut out for him. Privilege does not relinquish its struggle till its last claw is clipped and every tendon hamstringed. . . . Privilege has unlimited resources, unnumbered friends in high places, unquenchable apologists among the mighty, inexhaustible gall. By injunctions and elections, by bribery and intimidation, by fraud and coercion, by legal and illegal measures, it will fight every inch of the way.

San Francisco Star (Ind.), Apr. 8.—Hurrah for Chicago! The election on Tuesday last places her in the front rank with the most progressive cities of the world, and in the lead of all the big cities in the United States. . . . Chicago's example will soon be followed by every city in the Union; and "don't you forget it," you earnest reformers and "professionals" who think to carry on a successful campaign this year in San Francisco without any other battle-cry than that of reform—"turn the rescals out and put us in."

Springfield (Mass.) Republican (Ind.), Apr. 7 (weekly ed.).—But nothing more splendid in its optimism could be imagined than the way in which Chicago, notwithstanding her failures and weaknesses in government, now presses forward to take on new burdens for the democracy. It is, from this point of view, an inspiring sight. The spirit of the people is unmistakably courageous, undismayed, militant. No friend of democratic government can fail to wish the great city by the lake the fullest measure of success in its new municipal enterprise, now that the determination to push on is irrevocable.

Kansas City (Mo.) World (Ind.), Apr. 7.—Chicago may be raw and breezy and turbulent, but the citizens of that overgrown municipality are thinkers. They do not care whether they are called socialists or anarchists; they want progress, and as the years have passed there has been a growing feeling in favor of getting a show for their money and turning out those who had been selfish enough and smart enough to capitalize the people's rights. It all came to a head Tuesday. What had been simply a movement became a cyclone. Chicago registered itself in favor of municipal ownership so forcibly that the sound went around the world.

COLLEGIATE PLUTOCRACY.

Springfield Republican (Ind.), March 17 (weekly ed.).—The tendency of college students to act as strike breakers when labor wars are in progress in their vicinity . . . originates more in boyish desire for a lark than in any serious feeling concerning labor troubles. . . . and probably most labor unions would see the situation mainly in that light. It is, however, a kind of adventure that should be indulged in with care by college boys, if they wish to prevent the labor unionists of the

country from concluding that the college and university atmosphere in America is unsympathetic with the interests of the wage-earning masses. Some of the universities are already charged with being aristocratic and dominated by wealth; the possible evil that might be done in stimulating popular prejudices against them by strike-breaking larks among their students is certainly to be considered.

EVIL NOT AN ENTITY.

(Chicago) Unity (rel.), March 30.—Literally translated, the word universe means "the one, turning." And this, again, is not a bad summary of the monistic philosophy. The mind does not find rest in the thought of an ultimate dualism. All things are, must be, "Parts of one stupendous whole; whose body Nature is, and God the soul." Hence, evil is not, cannot be, an entity, a something that has self-existence; but rather it is the negative side of things; an incident in the becoming of the good, which only can be eternal. . . . If many of the young men of our times could see beneath the surface appearance of things, they would not run so recklessly into the extravagances of wealth, of pride, and sensuous pleasures. The enduring values of the real can be found only in the world of the true and the good; in the moral grandeurs of noble thinking, living and doing.

MISCELLANY

HUMAN EQUALITY.

For The Public.
Rulers of men, reformers who
Man's greatest good would gain,
This truth supreme must guide your steps—
Th' equality of men.
Impartial nature knows no rich,
No poor, no high, no low.
The equal statute books of men
No differences should know.
For each, the kindly sun that sheds
His warm bright beams on high;
For each, the wide and fruitful plain;
For each, the brooding sky;
For each, that fund which nature gives
Where human beings throng.
The surface right, the surface worth,
To each alike belong.
Secure this social wealth to bless
Alike the great and small;
Give to the humblest child his share;
So shall ye profit all.

SAMUEL BRAZIER.

So. Boston, Mass.

STANDARD OIL AND THE CHURCH.

At the Vine Street Congregational church in Cincinnati, Ohio, April 2, the pastor, Herbert S. Bigelow, discussed the attitude of the church toward Standard Oil money.

It is a significant sign of the times that a man so sober and even so conservative in his thought and utterance as Dr. Washington Gladden should be outspoken in his objection to Standard Oil money. He asserts that this money is the product of "the most relentless rapacity known to modern commercial history," and that the church which accepts it invites "the contempt of millions of honest men."

A few years ago, I attended a meeting of clergymen where Henry D. Lloyd's

book, "Wealth Versus Commonwealth." was reviewed and discussed. The ministers, one and all, expressed complete sympathy with Mr. Lloyd's indictment of the Standard Oil company. But they were almost as unanimous in the opinion that a preacher ought not to jeopardize the peace of his congregation by treating such subjects in the pulpit.

Now consider the memorial of the New England preachers in objecting to taking this money on the ground that the methods of the Standard Oil company are "morally iniquitous and socially destructive." and in refusing to be put "in a relation implying honor toward the donor."

While this is gratifying as evidence of the increasing interest that good people are taking in social problems, it leaves much to be desired. This is not wholly an individual problem, and we do not reach the root of the matter by pointing a finger of scorn at particular individuals. Primarily it is a question of wise or unwise social arrangements. The remedy is to be found in social readjustments, not in personal denunciation.

All know that the inordinate power of the Standard Oil company has been built up, very largely, by discrimination in railroad rates. It is not enough that the church should denounce as bad the men who have profited by such discrimination. It is more important to teach people the need of taking the railroads out of private hands, that passenger and freight rates may be as impartial as the price of postage stamps.

Mr. Rockefeller is not more a knave than the other fellows have been fools. If the rest of us had given more thought to public questions we would have owned our own railroads, and he could not then have done all this wickedness. Would it not be more Christian for us to repent of our neglect, than to declare from the house-tops our scorn of him?

To denounce this one man is to misdirect the thought of the people. Attention should be turned to the bad social arrangements which furnish so many opportunities for injustice and rapacity.

Surely the people who have done and are doing nothing to correct these conditions, cannot escape their share of the guilt. Their indictment does not carry the weight it should, because they do not come into court with clean hands. Others have been guilty of sins of commission. We have sinned grievously by our political prejudices and our mental sloth and neglect of civic duties.

If the good people of this country had had the intelligence and the public spirit which a citizen of the great Republic ought to have a Rockefeller would be an impossibility. Therefore, repentance is more in order than censure.

The church that faces these social

problems intelligently and courageously will not need to reject Standard Oil money. It will not be offered any.

NORWAY AND SWEDEN.

For The Public.

So much excitement prevails throughout the civilized world over the Russo-Japanese war and the disturbances in Russia itself, that little is heard concerning the less sanguinary but very momentous upheaval in Norway. The Union question—Unionsagen—is not a new one, but recent events have caused it to assume greater proportions than ever before.

In order to understand the situation it is well to recall that from the Middle Ages until 1814 Norway and Denmark were united. At this date (1814), Denmark being involved in wars, the national feeling already existing in Norway augmented and she freed herself, formed a constitution and became a republic. But during the ensuing year Sweden lost Finland to Russia and bethought herself of the danger from antagonists on each frontier and of the benefits likely to accrue from an alliance with Norway. Negotiations followed and treaties were drawn up between Sweden and Denmark, to the end that Norway should be compelled to unite with Sweden. But Norway refused to recognize a treaty that should dispose of an entire country without the consent of that country herself, and war was the consequence.

But in time a conference was held between the National Assembly in Norway and the Rigsdag in Stockholm, at which an agreement was reached as to the new constitution and the conditions upon which the king should be recognized in Norway. Then, and not till then, did she proclaim Carl Johan as King Carl XIII. of Norway and Sweden. This proclamation was issued "in terms that intimated that the new king based his rights upon the spontaneous and unanimous choice of the Norwegian people, and not upon any previous treaties in which the Norwegians themselves had had no part."

Under this new agreement Norway became "a free, independent, indivisible and inalienable kingdom, united with Sweden under one king."

"The constitutions of the two countries, each of which rests upon its own fundamental laws, differ greatly from one another in a number of important points."

"The ordinary legislation of the two countries is wholly distinct, and in principles it is, in many respects, fundamentally different."

All important state institutions are separate; ministry and government offices, courts of justice, customs and finances.

This in brief is the relation of the two countries to each other; the king spends a small part of each year in Christiania, and is the nominal head of the government, although it can readily be seen that the Norwegian Storting is a highly independent body and conducts the affairs of the kingdom very much to its own liking. The bond has never been very close and its strength has been severely tested upon several occasions.

The great point at issue has been the matter of foreign representation—Konsulatsagen. Norway has felt the justice of being represented abroad by her own men, but this has never been granted. It is easy to see that it requires a man of exceptional nobility and a strong sense of justice to represent the interests of the two countries, even though those countries be ruled by one king. They may have one sovereign, but they are not one people. Involuntary fraternity is a very weak tie and one must expect something less than complete harmony.

The matter of separation has been often discussed in Norway, but it has always been opposed by Sweden, and even in her own Storting has had its strong opponents. The Norwegian people, although eminently peace-loving, are such extreme individualists that it is difficult for them to unite on matters of great moment. But a new impetus has been given to the question, and Norway has combined at last against her neighbor.

The king has abdicated in favor of his son, ostensibly on the plea of age and failing health, but it is believed that the prospect of dismemberment was one that he did not wish to face, preferring to leave it to younger men and minds. It would seem that Norway having entered into this union "voluntarily and spontaneously," could as readily dissolve the partnership. But this is not the case. The young prince is ambitious and would found a great Scandinavian empire; he would also have the strength of Norwegian arms in case of troubles from the Russian frontier, of which there is always a possibility.

But Norway, on the other hand, having so long virtually conducted her own affairs, feels herself quite capable of doing so entirely. In case of war she is thoroughly prepared, and, judging by her friendly relations with other European countries, is not likely to suffer

for allies. Her people are unusually independent and liberty-loving, and they wear the galling yoke under protest. The independent papers, chief among which is Verdens Gang, are full of the controversy from day to day. Norway is stirred from North Cape to Lindesnaes, and her men of thought are keenly alive to the affair. She does not possess the American politician type, so that the cause is espoused by Storthing men and authors and business men alike. Such men as Bjornson and Nansen are in the front rank and voice the popular opinion.

The latest development is an appointment of a committee to consider and shape the course of action, and it is sincerely to be hoped that the matter may be concluded peaceably, and that Norway may reach the "ultima thule" of national liberty.

MARY HEATH LEE.

THE AMERICAN CLERGY AND PLUTOCRACY.

Written for The Public by Rev. James B. Converse, of Morristown, Tenn., author of "Uncle Sam's Bible."

Can the American clergy be freed from the influence of wealth? from sympathy with the rich? from indifference about economic injustice and political corruption?

If they cannot be freed from these things the chasm between the church and the masses will widen and deepen.

We answer: Yes; all needed to deliver them is self-knowledge and the Holy Spirit. And we give three reasons for our answer.

First, the masses and not the monopolists support the clergy. The children's pennies keep up the Sunday schools; the nickels of the people pay the foreign missionaries, and their quarters support the pastors. Standard Oil may endow a university, but it does not pay the Baptist preachers.

Secondly, the masses also supply the hearers. The plutocrats are few, and their social amusements do not permit their regular attendance at church. The audiences must come from the masses.

Thirdly, there is much knowledge of the Bible, both among the laity and the clergy. Myriads of teachers' Bibles and millions of others are sold. No book competes with it in popularity. Thousands of papers publish expositions of the Sunday school lessons. Hundreds of ministers read the Hebrew Testament, and thousands the Greek Testament. The teachings of the Bible about plutocracy are plain and many. The Founder of our religion was a carpenter. Dur-

ing his public ministry he had no regular salary, but was supported by charity. He had no parsonage, not even a pillow. He preached that it was very hard for a rich man to be saved. His disciples continued his teachings. They went everywhere supported by charity or by their own labor. They taught that covetousness is idolatry, that the love of money is a root of all evil. In the laws which God published through Moses in the wilderness of Sinai, He ordained that all debts should be cancelled at the end of every seven years, and that at the jubilee every one should return to his own possession. Our condition differs widely from that of France at the time of the Revolution and from the condition of Russia at the present time. The French knew the mass and the Russians know their ikons. But we know the Bible, which is the great enemy of plutocracy.

All needed (we repeat) to free the American clergy from its false conservatism is self-knowledge and God's grace. The last our ministers know how to get.

The charge of sympathy with the rich and indifference towards economic injustice and political corruption will be resented. Please hear first, and strike afterwards if you wish.

In other lands the clergy have been and are very conservative. The daily papers give an illustration. The whole world sympathizes with the Russian people in their desire for liberty and admires Father Gapon, their leader. But the Holy Synod, unanimously, so far as appears, denounced him as a renegade priest. The Russian clergy would resent the charge that they are slaves to the autocracy, and would claim to be free. But are they free? Are they not in bondage? Wealth and not office, plutocracy and not autocracy, rules America. Where do our clergy stand?

Another illustration: The French Revolution. The church allied itself to the throne. But the priests did not regard themselves as the tools of tyranny. They thought themselves the defenders of religion, good order, learning and culture. In France the throne, the church and Christianity fell together. So general is our knowledge of Christ and His book that no such result is to be feared here. And yet, even here, clerical indifference to injustice and corruption does great harm to religion.

A third example: England before Wesley and Whitefield. Its laws were bloody and barbarous; but the established clergy did not protest. The populace was poor and brutal, but the clergy did not cure.

These three examples of clerical indifference come from three faiths—Greek, Romish and Protestant. Has human nature been changed by crossing the Atlantic?

The cause of this indifference is plain. Men belong first to their families; secondly, to their class; thirdly, to their nation; and only fourthly to mankind. John Smith is first of all a husband and father; next a merchant; thirdly, an American, and only fourthly, a man. After his family his interests center in his business. He sympathizes with his class more strongly than with his nation or his race. He looks at all matters from the standpoint of his class, and judges all questions by his class prejudices. His daily work controls his reasoning. Our clergymen are educated, and education and wealth have always been associated. They are learned, and learning is a class distinction. They are refined and cultured—other class distinctions. Their habits are sedentary and join them to the class of leisure. Their opinions, sympathies, sentiments, prejudices, very easily agree with those of the class to which so many ties bind them. As the mirror reflects what stands before it, so the clergy reflect college halls, parsonage libraries and ladies' parlors. As a sailor talks and walks and thinks like other sailors, so a clergyman thinks and feels and talks like the members of the class to which he belongs. As the laborer is first of all a workman and after that an American, so the clergyman is first of all a minister and after that a Christian and an American. If any minister will meditate and pray over this question God will make him first of all a man and a Christian.

This indifference to economic injustice and political corruption is shown in many ways. We mention only two:

First, the ministry generally claims to be conservative. There is a good conservatism that conserves what is good and casts out what is bad. There is a still better conservatism that seeks to restore the good which has passed away. But the conservatism the ministry boasts of is preserving things as they are. If taxes, for example, press unduly on the poorest, the conservative justifies unjust taxation. If our laws assist the extortion of trusts and monopolies, the conservative defends the robbery. If our political methods promote grafting, the conservative is a grafter. Clerical conservatism is the Port Arthur of all that is evil in our American civilization.

The other sign of clerical indiffer-

ence to injustice and corruption which we shall mention is the way the clergy talk about reforming them. Many ministers talk on this subject, either publicly or privately. They chiefly urge two ways of reforming our evils—love and conversion. If all would love one another, they say, the evils would disappear. Love, to be sincere and lasting, must be founded on justice; and to exhort to love without saying anything about justice shows that the exhorter knows nothing or cares nothing about justice. If all were converted, the ministers say again, the evils would cease, forgetting that the evil doers are graduates of our Sunday schools and members of our churches. Such idle talk is the surest sign of indifference.

Mr. Lawson has promised to tell us the remedy for frenzied finance. I will forestall him. The remedy is the economic and political study of the Bible. In this work the clergy should lead.

MAYOR DUNNE'S WAY.

Although campaign documents are usually as uninteresting and unimportant after election as campaign posters, two of Mayor Edward F. Dunne's are of permanent interest and importance, owing to their subject matter, coupled with the fact of Mr. Dunne's election and consequent responsibility, and therefore we reproduce them below.

ON TRACTION SETTLEMENT FRANCHISES.

Letter from Judge Dunne to George F. Hooker, Secretary of the City Club, first published March 31, 1905.

My Dear Sir: In answer to your letter of the 29th inst., I beg leave to state that, if elected mayor, I would not be a party to, in any possible way, the making of any arrangement whether it be called lease, license, or contract, under which the present companies or any other companies might remain in possession indefinitely of the street car systems, or for five, ten, fifteen, or any number of years, without an arrangement being entered into whereby such lease, license, or contract be submitted to the people for approval by a referendum vote. No final or definite settlement with the traction companies of any character will be made by me, as mayor, without the same being submitted to the people for their approval. I believe that temporary arrangements between the city and a company running for a brief and definite period of time might become necessary for the purpose of giving time to lay before the people a definite proposition under the referendum provisions of the Mueller law. If such necessity arise, I would consider myself free to make arrangements. I will, however,

veto any such temporary arrangements of any name or character if it confer, or if by any contingency it might ripen into, an irrevocable grant beyond such brief definite period. No ordinance of any kind bearing upon the matter of street railroads other than such a temporary arrangement will escape my veto, unless provision is made for the right of the people to approve or disapprove of the same by referendum.

EDWARD F. DUNNE.

LAST APPEAL TO VOTERS.

On the eve of election, Judge Dunne mailed this signed letter to the voters of Chicago individually.

My Dear Sir: As citizens of Chicago, interested in its welfare, you and I have discussed for several years the question of municipal ownership.

On Tuesday, by your vote, you will help to settle this question which means so much to the people of Chicago and so much, by way of example, to all the citizens of the United States.

As one interested with you in the city's welfare, I take the liberty of addressing to you a final word before the casting of the ballots.

On Tuesday you will say with your vote, whether Chicago is to have municipal ownership of street car lines, for the benefit of the people, or whether, by means of an insidious franchise ordinance, drawn in the interests of private corporations, municipal ownership shall be postponed indefinitely.

You will decide on Tuesday next whether the streets of this city and the profits of the street car lines shall belong hereafter to Chicago and her citizens, or to J. Pierpont Morgan, of New York, and his Wall street syndicate.

Municipal ownership is not an experiment. It has been tried, and in every case with success.

In hundreds of cities in Europe and Australasia, municipal ownership has reduced taxation, improved the public service, improved wages, hours of employment, treatment of employes, abolished strikes and abolished the most fertile source of political corruption.

In addition, municipal ownership, wherever it has been fairly tried, has reduced the cost to the consumer at the same time that it has reduced taxes.

Permit me to express briefly some of the thoughts that I should like to lay before you personally if it were possible in the limited days of the campaign for me to meet and discuss issues individually with each one of my fellow citizens.

And first let me urge that you point out to your neighbor the importance of voting "no" on the little ballot.

Some of your neighbors, less well-in-

formed than you are, may not realize that the friends of municipal ownership have hitherto voted "yes" in every referendum case. This time, they must vote "no," since their "no" will say that they do not want to give a new franchise to any private corporation.

The citizens of Chicago will be interested not only in increasing their own comfort, lowering taxes, adding to the general prosperity by municipal ownership, but they will be interested also in bettering the condition of those 16,000 hard working men now employed by the traction companies of this city.

Municipal ownership will, of course, guarantee to every worker, regardless of age, his place and his salary. Having proved his ability in open competition, each present employe will be secure under municipal ownership.

New men seeking employment will pass appropriate civil service examinations which shall touch only on their ability to manage a street car, not on their acquaintance with astronomical statistics or ancient history.

The men now upon the payrolls of the traction companies will be transferred to the payrolls of the city, and for the rest of their lives they will be protected by the civil service laws—not subject to dismissal through any man's whim.

And Chicago, generous and just, will see that out of the increased earnings of the municipally owned system, the workmen employed shall be better paid. This can readily be done, since the municipally owned street car system will no longer be compelled to pay dividends on tens of millions of watered stocks and bonds.

You will vote on Tuesday for a principle, not for an individual. Therefore, I confine what I have to say to you to the question of principle—the municipal ownership principle which the city has discussed for so long.

My opponent is committed to the renewal of franchises giving to Mr. Morgan and his syndicate an indefinite lien upon the streets of Chicago.

If I am elected, no more street car franchises shall be given to any private individual or corporation. I shall proceed immediately, as Mayor of Chicago, to establish municipal ownership under the terms of the Mueller law. That law on the statute books of Illinois provides that the lines can be bought, or new lines built, with street car certificates without adding one cent to the indebtedness of the city or one cent to your taxes.

Hereafter, under municipal ownership, the money that has made innumerable millionaires out of Chicago's streets

will be devoted to increasing the prosperity of the city, the comfort of all the citizens through the improved service, the lowering of taxes and better pay for street car employes.

Not only will municipal ownership add to the comfort of the citizens, to the prosperity of all, but it will promote in the surest and most legitimate way the growth of the city of Chicago. The management of the municipal street car lines, being dictated solely by the interests of the city, will attend to the extension of those lines wherever the public welfare demands such extension. There will be no neglect of the outlying districts, no more reckless disregard of the needs of large sections of the city in the effort to force profits out of an inadequate system.

Municipal ownership will restore to the people their rights in their own streets.

If you believe that the streets of Chicago belong to the people of Chicago, and that they should not be exploited for the benefit of non-resident financial syndicates, I think that you will not fail to vote for municipal ownership.

If I am elected Mayor of Chicago, I shall use every effort, faithfully, honestly and diligently, to carry out the orders of the citizens—that is to say, to make municipal ownership a reality in the shortest possible space of time.

EDWARD F. DUNNE.

317 Beacon St., Chicago, Ill., Apr. 1, 1905.

ADVISORY REFERENDUM AS A PARTY ISSUE.

For The Public.

The Democratic Referendum club programme is being discussed. One of the main points is as to the plan for the establishment of the advisory referendum system instead of the usual form of the referendum. The editor of The Public has consented that I briefly present the reasons for the programme.

The principal reason is that in no other way can the referendum system be installed nationally. To amend the written Constitution is a practically impossible task under the existing system. The direct election of senators, though demanded almost unanimously, is still unaccomplished, likewise the direct election of President and Vice President. Even the consideration of public questions in a national campaign is by a roundabout method, the written Constitution declaring that the decision of the legislative questions is in Congress and not in the people.

The manner in which the people have been gaining power in the face of the rockbound written Constitution

is by instructing representatives. The presidential electors are instructed for whom they shall vote, and the congressmen and senators are instructed by party platforms. The next step is the establishment of a system whereby members of Congress and senators can be instructed by direct vote.

The feasibility of the plan is beyond dispute. Congress has authority to provide for advisory referendum voting, and this, combined with the pledging of candidates to obey the will of their constituents when expressed by referendum vote, makes a practicable system, one of the first effects of which referendum system "a bridge ready for a referendum system that will legally control legislation. But without waiting for this change, the advisory system can be used to control the rail-ways and the other inter-State trusts.

For more than four years this programme has been approved by experts in political science. Immediately after the campaign of 1900 the plan was presented to Chairman James K. Jones and approved; and approved by Gov. Altgeld, Senator Pettigrew and ex-Congressman Towne. Mr. Bryan was consulted. Six months later the plan was published in book form and presented to the Second Social and Political Conference at Detroit, and approved. About the same time it was approved at a meeting of the National Direct Legislation league. At that time Prof. Frank Parsons termed the advisory referendum system "a bridge ready for immediate use to the promised land." Mr. Louis F. Post, after a visit to Winnetka, Ill., described the advisory system in The Public of September 7, 1901, saying:

It can for one thing be easily made the subject of effective nonpartisan organization. For another, if the organization were to become influential it would completely effect its purpose.

Henry George, Jr., in his writings during 1901, urged that the advisory system be installed nationally for immediate use against the trusts, saying:

The potency of the monopolists in our politics would obviously be short-lived; indeed the people would probably make it a "short shrift" for the monopolies themselves.

The same year, 1901, the executive council of the American Federation of Labor took the following action, as reported in the minutes of the meeting and published in the American Federationist:

It was decided to issue an address to all affiliated organizations, requesting them to endeavor to secure the passage of local ordinances and laws for the Initiative and referendum on measures relating to local interests, and thus to secure the beginning

of this system of direct legislation, with the view of subsequently enlarging the scope of that method of enacting laws in the interest of the people.

The discovery of a referendum for national affairs that can be installed without a change in the written Constitution opened the way for an immediate solution of the trust question. When the trusts are attacked through the direct-vote system they will become politically powerless. Their political strength is due to the delegate system.

To spread the news of the improved system required time and hard work. In less than two years, though, the Missouri State Federation of Labor, backed by Mr. Bryan and other leading Democrats, pledged nine of the 16 successful candidates for Congress, also the successful candidate for United States Senator, ex-Gov. Stone. In Illinois both the candidates for the United States Senate pledged for the referendum, the successful candidate in these words:

I favor any principle—I care not what it may be called—that will enlarge the power of the people on all questions, State and National, that affect the well-being of the citizens.

Other members of Congress elected in 1902 were pledged. In 1904 the Missouri Federation of Labor pledged 12 of the 16 members of Congress. In Chicago five of the ten members were pledged, all ten being Republicans. Wherever candidates were questioned by an organization that meant "business," or an opposing candidate took up the issue, the people elected a majority rulist.

In Massachusetts the advisory referendum was brought into prominence in another way. In the campaign where-in Gov. Douglas was elected in a Republican State, he advocated that an advisory vote by the people of Massachusetts be taken on the tariff question, and he pledged that, if elected, he would do his best to help secure the advisory vote. Such a vote, it was recognized, would be an instruction to the Massachusetts representatives in Congress.

The programme was heartily endorsed by the conservative Democratic press, such as the Boston Herald and Harper's Weekly. Even the Wall Street Journal pointed out the growing popularity of the direct-vote system, and commented favorably upon the results where it has been used.

The advisory referendum system has been used in Canada. In the Province of Ontario, some years ago, the liberal cabinet took an advisory referendum vote on the question of legally prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquor. In

England whenever parliament is dissolved the election of candidates is based upon the issue that caused the dissolution. This is an indirect form of advisory referendum. In the United States the vote on the national platform by voting for candidates is an advisory referendum. An improved form of advisory voting has been discovered for national issues, the direct system of advisory referendum, as we have pointed out. The establishment of this system is logically the next step, and it is an open sesame to a Constitutional amendment, but, without waiting for the amendment, the legislative issues can at once be settled.

This programme is an admirable party issue. It meets all the requirements, which are:

1. An issue that is capable of immediate settlement by a majority vote in Congress.

2. An issue on which the progressive elements in the several parties can agree. Such is especially the case as to the referendum, for if installed in the Congress to be elected next year, it will open at once the way for a direct vote by the people on every kind of national reform that is likely to poll a majority vote, at the same time shutting out the political power of special-privilege funds and terminating corruption.

3. No candidate will dare to openly oppose the issue where it is prominent. The proposition is merely to establish an institution through which the people can instruct representatives—the mere reestablishment of an old-time Constitutional right.

4. The issue is so popular that next year a majority of the legislatures can be pledged to instruct the Senators, while a majority in the House can readily be secured, because many of the Republicans are already pledged, and others will quickly pledge when the issue is raised in their districts. The only difficulty will be in getting the Republicans where their pledges to vote for the people's sovereignty will avail them naught. In order to thus out-general them, it is necessary that the Democratic candidates for Congress and the legislatures shall earnestly champion the issue before they are actually forced to do so. In last year's Congressional campaign some of the Democratic candidates for Congress were defeated because they ignored the referendum questions, while the opposing Republicans answered in the affirmative; in other places some of the Republicans were defeated because they ignored the questions.

Leading up to the Congressional campaign, the Democrats will have plenty of opportunity to show that they favor majority rule. A Democratic Referendum Club can be formed in every city and county, even though only a half dozen or more Democrats should take hold, and the combined work of the clubs will leaven the whole party. Immediate work along many lines can be engaged in, as is pointed out in the Constitution and By-Laws. In this work the cities can immediately be emancipated from machine rule, while in the State campaign the citizens can become freed from machine rule by establishing through the legislature a direct vote system for instructing representatives. In both State and city there exists the best possible kind of a party issue.

Until last year in Massachusetts the referendum did not become a live party issue anywhere, because the demand was for a Constitutional amendment, which requires one or more years to establish; and for the further reason that in many States the machine politicians held back the issue. To-day the questioning of candidates at Democratic primaries and conventions by means of Democratic Referendum Clubs will prevent the sidetracking of the issue, while the demand for the immediate establishment of a direct-vote system will furnish an effective party issue.

The results in Illinois, where an advisory referendum system has existed for four years, is no criterion of what can be accomplished when a leading party makes this direct-vote system a live issue. In Illinois it has been the non-partisan organizations that have used the system. They have brought six State questions to a direct vote, but the instructions have not been as binding as would have been the case had the advisory system been used by one of the leading parties. Furthermore, the Illinois system is deficient in that it does not force a vote in the legislature at the time the measure is initiated by the people.

Summarizing the advantages of the several portions of the programme of the Democratic Referendum Clubs, it can be truthfully said that it is a plan for immediate work along irresistible lines. Already the anti-monopoly business interests, organized farmers and organized wage-earners are pushing for the immediate establishment of a direct-vote system. It is not a question of whether the Democrats will take hold and lead in the emancipation of the people, but whether they will keep from being run over by

the existing movement among the non-partisan organizations. It is believed that partisan clubs and leagues will take a leading place, for it is the means whereby the self-interest of individuals can be promoted—they can win the offices. Furthermore, the newspapers that take up the Democratic programme for the people's emancipation can increase their circulation. In short, the two great incentives to party action are present, an opportunity for successful office-seeking and an increase of newspaper circulation.

GEORGE H. SHIBLEY.

11 Bliss Bldg., Washington, D. C.

BOOKS

A NEW BOOK ON AMERICAN LITERATURE.

"I have endeavored," says the author, "to furnish a condensed account of the development of American literature, rather than a series of connected essays on leading American authors." The happy carrying out of this intent, so far as is possible in a brief treatise of 250 pages, is a main ground for commending this volume (A Brief History of American Literature, by W. P. Trent, Appleton, N. Y.)

The reader who wishes to get a good running view of what America has produced in literature cannot do better than to take Prof. Trent's book as his guide. The style is clear and interesting, with perhaps a little too much consciousness of making a text-book. The judgments are free and candid, and at the same time, as the critics say, sane. The transitions and periods are, as the author proposes, well linked into a connected chain, making in truth a history of the literature.

There is no better part of the book than the treatment of the transcendentalists, a part which the author unnecessarily fears may be unsuited to the "wants of pupils." He has treated the subject, however, in so clear a way that even young readers may follow him. Ripley, Alcott, Margaret Fuller, Emerson and Thoreau are all happily touched off. To Channing he seems not to do full justice. To call his style "formal, old-fashioned, and lacking in profound appeal" is not quite fair. Let one read the essay on Napoleon or the essay on Milton, which Prof. Trent names, and he will find himself engaged in as clear, strong and beautiful prose as America has produced.

His treatment of the poets is excellent, and many will be glad to see his testimony to the growing fame of the one really great literary genius of the South, Sidney Lanier. There can now be no doubt that Lanier is to be ranked with the best of American poets. Some have already ventured to say that he is the most original of all. This can hardly be said in comparison with

Whitman; but taking him all in all, his music, his extreme modernness, his insight both into the mysteries of nature and into the problems of mankind, we may not fear to predict that his poetry will probably increase in the favor of readers more than that of any other American poet who has yet written.

It would be wrong to close this brief review of Prof. Trent's book without mentioning the excellent and useful chronological appendix. The method of inserting parallel references is especially worthy of commendation. It is interesting, for example, to be able to note so conveniently that in the year Tom Paine published his *Common Sense*, Gibbon published his first volume and Adam Smith the *Wealth of Nations*; that in the year Marshall's *Life of Washington* appeared, George Sand was born and Schiller published his *Wilhelm Tell*; that in the year Irving published his *Knickerbocker*, Gladstone, Darwin and Tennyson were born and Byron's *English Bards and Scotch Reviews* appeared, and so on. Such bringing together of names is more than a matter of curiosity; it is a substantial aid to the comprehensive knowledge of the history of literature.

J. H. DILLARD.

LAST HOURS OF SHERIDAN'S CAVALRY.

Sheridan's cavalry played a prominent and effective part in winding up the sanguinary Civil War between the Northern and the Southern States of the American Union, and Gen. Henry Edwin Tremain tells the story vividly in *Last Hours of Sheridan's Cavalry, a Reprint of War Memoranda* (New York: Bonnell, Silver & Bowen).

Gen. Tremain's story opens somewhat languidly, because it assumes a knowledge of the circumstances which few readers of the present generation possess. This fault is due, doubtless, in part to the fact that the memoranda were written many years ago (which also accounts for occasional expressions that a Southern reader might call ungenerous), and are now published without much revision, as impressions of an officer on the ground. It is probably due also to the fact that the author, having been an officer on the ground, does not clearly realize that circumstances which are commonplaces of knowledge to him may be all unknown to his non-military readers.

But if there is a somewhat languid opening, the story becomes intensely interesting as it discloses the movements of the contending armies in the region of Petersburg, Richmond and Appomattox during the closing days of Grant's final campaign against Lee. It has none of the non-human qualities of histories of military movements, in which the humanity of the units seems lost in the mechanism of military tactics. Neither is it a gossipy volume of personal experiences and observations "at

the front." It is an account of the military game as a game; of military maneuvering as maneuvering. Bodies of men are placed here or sent there, and the reason for each move is made evident; but they are men, all the time men, whether advancing or retreating, fighting or dying, and never mere collections of muster-roll statistics or regiments and brigades of automatons.

Gen. Tremain's volume, though without the slightest literary pretension, or any attempt to do more than describe and explain a military episode of historic consequence, makes the circumstances of the fall of Richmond and the surrender at Appomattox to live again with the impressive reality of 40 years ago.

PERIODICALS

Watson's Magazine for April is even more interesting than the first number. The distinguished editor's remarks are, of course, the features of each number. This month he writes, with his usual pungency, on "Russia," on "Free Passes," on "Roosevelt's Railroad Problem," on "High Salaries for Public Officials," and other timely topics. In the present number a serial begins by the well-known Georgia novelist, Will N. Harben, and ex-Gov. Garvin writes a forcible article on "Corrupt Practices in Elections."—J. H. D.

Prof. John E. B. Mayor, of Cambridge, England, is one of the great scholars of the world. His edition of Juvenal is known in every American college, but probably very few of his admirers in this country know of his being a "crank about eating." For many years Prof. Mayor has been a vegetarian, and now at the age of 80 he finds himself in good health and able to do steady work. It is no wonder that vegetarians point with pride to his wonderful career. The *Vegetarian Messenger* (Manchester and London) for March gives some account of the recent celebration in honor of the great scholar's birthday, with a portrait sketch and an appropriate sonnet.—J. H. D.

Julian Hawthorne has an article in *Munsey's* for March, discussing a subject which needs far more of public attention than it has received. His title is "The Crime of Hazing," and he states the case none too strongly. He is right, too, in his conclusion. "The college faculties could stop hazing, if they were not afraid to do so. They could expel an entire sophomore class, if the culprits refused to declare themselves. But the hazers are generally rich and influential." This is the rub. The colleges are too much dominated by a set of rich young men who are in college without earnest purpose, and mean to have a good time, according to their own ideas.—J. H. D.

Mr. Montague, in his article on "The Ethics of Trust Competition" in the

March *Atlantic*, misses the point of real complaint against trusts. If he could be induced to read the single-taxers' criticism of trusts he would find that it is not the fact of their competition with the independent dealers, or the fact of their underselling their opponents, which gives the true ground of complaint, but the fact that their methods and the privileges which we give them permit them to eliminate any genuine competition. His defensive article is, by the way, an illustration of the weakness of all the anti-trust attacks which do not base themselves on the feature of monopoly.

J. H. D.

The greatness of Abraham Lincoln and reverence for his opinions have become so firmly established that it is of the greatest importance that the world should have a correct account of his expressions. For this reason all should feel indebted to Mr. W. J. Ghent for his article in *Collier's Weekly* of April 1. Mr. Ghent shows that certain quotations are incorrect. "It is not needed," he well says, "that the utterances of Lincoln should be juggled in order to make them the expressions of a sense of close kinship with the tolling masses. Throughout his life he gave the most unmistakable evidence of this feeling. He gave frequent expression to the historical fact of the priority of labor to capital."—J. H. D.

Every human being who has managed to retain a fair amount of his humanity must, at some time of his life, have considered the problem of clothes from the point of view of utility and style. It is a hard problem and goes back to every age of recorded pictures. The fashion plates of every century have their manifest absurdities in men's as well as in women's garbs. There seems to be, today as well as in the past, some mysterious tyranny at work; for some of our modern requirements can find no justification in reason or beauty. The problem is cleverly discussed by Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, in a recent number of the *Independent*, under the title, "Why These Clothes?" Here is one of the best of her questions: "Why should we slay a young goat, skin it, make of its hide a little leather bag, many fingered, and carefully conceal our hands in it?" Who can answer?

J. H. D.

The Public

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT
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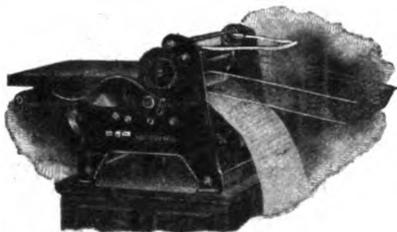
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CHICAGO, SATURDAY, APRIL 22, 1905

Number 368

LOUIS F. POST
EDITOR

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Publishers' Announcement

The next number of THE PUBLIC, of Saturday, April 29, will contain, as a supplement, a portrait of Hon. Edward F. Dunne, Mayor of Chicago, and a sketch of his life and public services, by Louis F. Post.

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- SUNDAY, APRIL 23rd—Rochester, N. Y.
- MONDAY, APRIL 24th, to SUNDAY, APRIL 30th—Buffalo, N. Y. C. D. Blackhall, 10 Lock St.
- MONDAY, MAY 1st—Hamilton, Ontario. E. S. Gilbert, 164 W. King St.
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